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THE
HISTORY
OF
LEARNING.

GIVING

A Succinct Account & Narrative
Of the Choicest

New BOOKS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION of what is most
Curious and Remarkable in the
Foreign Journals.

LICENS'D,

April 19th. 1694.

D. Poplar.

L O N D O N,

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The Preface.

THE Principal Design of this Paper, is, besides some Abstracts of our own, To give you, *A Translation of the Narratives of the Choicest New Books in Europe*, as they are Epitomized in the Forreign Journals: Hereby you will have a General and Succinct View of the Learning and Studies of the most Refined Writers, in the several Languages, Countries, and Sciences representing in a short Draught, the State of Learning in the World, as that of a Town or Country is by a Map or Prospect; And such a Guide or *Index*, seems to be as necessary to direct our Course in the World of Books and Learning, as the Mariner's Compass is for him to steer his Course by in the midst of the vast Ocean; and if the Reader reaps not the Benefit and Advantage that might reasonably be expected from the present Undertaking, he must attribute it onely to the Authors

The P R E F A C E.

want of Skil and Ability to manage rightly so useful a design.

But it is not our Intention, either to play the Herald, in proclaiming the Praises which such a Collection might justly merit, nor yet the Apologist for our own Performance. The use thereof is obvious to all, seeing it may be serviceable to the best Libraries, as a direction for the Choice of Books; and in some measure to the meanest, by supplying, in part, the defects thereof. And seeing the Papers from which this Draught is chiefly designed to be made, have found such general Approbation in Forreign Parts, we thought a Collection of the most Curious Matters contained in them, would not be unacceptable to our *English* Nation, which we intend to continue by a frequent Publication, if it may be found Serviceable to the Common-wealth of Letters.

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The History of Learning.

Rumb. 1.

Tuesday May 1. 1694.

La Vie de Mr. Descartes 1. & 2. Partie, à Paris chez Daniel Hortemels, 1691. in 4. pagg. 476. & 601. La même, 1693. in 12. pagg. 318. & se trouve à Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers.

i. e.

The L I F E of Mr. Descartes, 1. & 2. Part.

Translated out of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans.*

MR. Descartes hath made too great a Figure amongst modern Philosophers, for to want an Historian after his death. 'Tis true, that the Life of a Philosopher consists principally in thoughts and opinions, which we must only look for in his Books: But it doth not pass wholly in meditations. It is convenient to know how Philosophy hath governed mans Life, and what influence it hath had upon his private actions: We represent to our selves commonly under the title of a Philosopher, a grave Person, and one always occupied in serious reflections. Or according to *Lucian*, he that will obtain that title must have a sour Countenance, a barbarous Mein, and savage Manners. He must exclaim against all the world, find fault with every thing, and live in Society as tho' he was in a Wilderness. Mr. Descartes way of living was not drawn according to this model, and he did not affect so great an austerity. He professed a milder sort of Wisdom, and more conformable to our nature and occasions. Mr. *Baillet* represents him as such: And as he hath forgot nothing that may advance his reputation, so he disguiseth not his defects; being perswaded that there are always marks of Force and Grandeur even in the weaknesses of great geniuses. Seeing

Seeing it is essential to History, I must repeat what all the world knows, to wit, that Mr. *Descartes* was born in *Touraine* in 1595. His Father was Councillor of the Parliament of *Britain*. He brought to his Studies a violent passion to learn, and a noble emulation to exceed his competitors. Although he left betimes the trifles & ornaments of Learning, he loved Humanities, & was not insensible of the delicacies & sweetnes of Poësie. He had not lost this relish when he went into *Sweden*; for he made a Comedy for the divertisement of the Queen. He used to say, that the reading of good Books was a conversation with the best men of the former Ages, but an elaborate conversation, wherein they discovered to us their best thoughts. When he was entered into the School of Philosophy, he would have distinct notions of every thing that was proposed to him. When an Argument was proposed, he demanded first the true definition of the terms, and the explication of certain common principles which were not very well understood. This discussion perplexed his Master very much, who was not used to give a reason for every thing, and with whom the empty flourish of a distinction was an infallible refuge in the greatest extremities. He hath assumed since, that he had never thought of finding a new way, if he had not observed, that after so many Ages wherein Philosophy hath been too much improved, men dispute still concerning every thing, and are agreed about nothing. He judged thereby that there are doubts and uncertainties in every thing, and that by consequence it is better to apply our selves to the search of truth, as yet obscure and unknown, than to hold servilely to the opinions of another, and submit to the conduct of a guide who is uncertain himself what way he must take.

* In 1620. Mr. *Descartes*, that he might know the world the better, bore Arms under Prince *Maurice* in *Holland*, which was become then the School of the art of War. He was also at the Battle of * *Prague*, and a witness of the victory of the Duke of *Bavaria*, Head of the Catholick League against *Frederick* 5th. Elector *Palatine*, who was elected King of *Bohemia*. Mr. *Descartes* his Campaigns, were rather voyages than military functions. He had not been a Soldier, but that he might thereby have an opportunity of studying mens manners more exactly: He lived like them, who being free from imploy, think only of leading a peaceable and innocent Life, and who study to separate Vice from Pleasures. After having lived some years this turbulent sort of life, he returned to *Paris*, where his merit drew an importunate throng after him; and he tells us himself, that from this time the Book-sellers (who aim onely at trafficking with the reputation of Authors) joyned themselves with them who besieged him continually, and perswaded him to take his Pen in hand. Thus his reputation became burthensome to him who loved a retreat and solitude: That which happened in a publick conference doubled the importunities of the curious. Mr. *Chandonx* proposed a new System of Philosophy in a great Assembly, which was very much applauded. Mr. *Descartes* was the only person that refused his approbation. He only praised the freedom of Mr. *Chandonx*, who attempted to rescue Philosophy from the vexation of the Schoolmen: But with a tone a little suspected, and an air too cold, to cause his being pressed to explain himself any further. Then he shewed the power of probability which so often passeth in the stead of truth, and which had overcome

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the judgment of the Assembly, where that which was false had passed for true by reason of its resemblance. Whereupon he bad them propound to him a most incontestable truth; which being done, he by Twelve Arguments, each more probable than the other, proved it to be false. Then they chose a most evident Falshood, and he brought his Auditors to acknowledge it for a plausible truth. From whence he concluded, that our mind is easily deceived by probability. *Chrysippus* the Philosopher boasts in *Lucian*, that it was his profession to make Nets to catch men; by Nets he meant Syllogisms and Sophisms. What we have related, justifies the expression of *Chrysippus*.

The multitude of visits which daily hindred Mr. *Descartes* his business, constrained him to seek for a Residence where he might be freed from unprofitable Honours, which distracted his mind and attention. He was not * yet absolutely determined to what condition to betake himself, therefore he reviewed the different employs which share men betwixt them. The result of his reflections, weighed in the Balance of Reason, was not to subject himself to any one, and to remain Master of himself. He found in himself a natural repugnance for engagements which might rob him of his Liberty; and resolved henceforth never to think of any thing, but to improve his understanding and judgment. His first maxime of morality, was to be Master of his desires, and his own thoughts. He held that to be the Capital maxime of the antient Philosophers, who knew how to rescue themselves from the power of fortune, and even in the midst of misery and afflictions, to vie felicity with the Gods. After having long deliberated, he chose † *Holland* for his residence: He gave this Reason of it to his Friends, that he had chosen a Country where there was left the most remains of the Innocence of our Ancestors, and where one might be as solitary as in *Deserts*, in the midst of a numerous People, more devoted to their interests, than curious about other mens matters. But it was not by reason of any melancholy and inhospitable humour, that he avoided the society of men. He loved the company of honest men, and sought their esteem eagerly enough: But the number of fotts, who thrust themselves in amongst the others, were the cause of his vexation and impatience; and he had rather withdraw himself, than be troubled with their tiresome conversations.

During his repose in *Holland*, he composed his Treatise of the world. He was about reviewing of it, when he heard of the accident that had happened to *Gallileus*. This famous Mathematician, thinking himself secure from the Inquisition under the protection of the Duke of *Tuscany*, took the liberty to publish his opinion of the daily motion of the Earth. He was accused to the H. Office, and the Delegates judged his opinion not only absurd and false in Philosophy, but also erroneous in the Faith, and contrary to the Scripture. The Holy Congregation, to shew the respect they had for his Person, sent Cardinal *Bellarmino* to him, to exhort him to renounce his Systeme; He promised to obey, but the Astrologers, who were not under the yoke and constraint of the Inquisition, laughed so much at the weakness of *Gallileus*, and the decision of the Inquisitors (too little skill'd in Philosophy, to pronounce infallibly in such a matter) that he was ashamed of his submission. Yet not to break the decree directly, he composed a Dialogue between *Ptolomy* and *Copernicus*. He makes *Copernicus* speak

* In 1625.

† In 1629.

* In 1633.

† Quamvis
hypotheticè
illam a se pro-
poni simula-
ret.

Speak therein too strongly for the repose of the Sun, and the motion of the Earth, to deceive the Inquisitors, who easily discovered his craft. So he was * shut up in the Prisons of the Inquisition, and afterwards declared † attaint and convicted of Heresy. He was then forced to abjure his pretended Heresy, and had a Penance imposed on him to expiate the crime of his relapse into error. Mr. *Descartes* was very much surprized at this disgrace of *Gallileus*; and Mr. *Baillet*, who makes him almost a St. represents him as ready to suppress his Treatise of the world (the foundation of which was the motion of the Earth) rather than contradict in any thing the Authority of the Church, nor even so much as to dispute her right to determine a point which had no great relation to her jurisdiction. He was not minded to make use of that exception, *Extra territorium jus dicenti, impune non preceat*. He readily foresaw, that that Censure would have the same fate, with that of Pope *Zachary*, which condemned *Virgile* Bishop of *Salzburg*, for maintaining that there were Antipodes. In the mean while he kept his Book private, and whether it was through scruple, as Mr. *Baillet* pretends, or whether it was through Policy, he durst not irritate the Inquisition. Others, to whom the sentence of the Inquisition was not so dreadful, run the hazard of it. He with all his caution changed not his opinion in the matter, and published it afterwards with some qualifications, to avoid the Accusation of Heresy, which he was so apprehensive of. Therefore he began with other Treatises: His *Discours de la Methode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la verité dans les sciences*, &c. is the first piece which he exposed to the publick; he was 40 years old before he became an Author.

His favorite-piece was his *Meditations Metaphysiques*. He Dedicated them to the Mrs. of the *Sorbonne*, to engage them on his side, and that it might serve him as a tacite approbation. He had a paternal affection for this production; and was so prepossessed with an opinion that it was an accomplished piece, that he attributed the disadvantageous judgment his Censurers gave of it to their want of Understanding, or the ill disposition of his Readers. He could not forbear owning the good opinion he had of it, and pretended to have advanced nothing but what was demonstrated with more evidence, than Geometrical demonstrations. If some (saith he) cannot understand it, it is because I cannot give a capacity to all the world, nor procure mens attention by force, which rejects things that require a profound meditation. He had a design to comprize in this Book all the substance of his opinions, and to insert therein all the principles which lead to true Philosophy. The principal consists in shewing the difference betwixt the Soul and Body. The ignorance thereof hath been the cause of abundance of false Reasonings. It hath been the original of the Pagans extravagance concerning their Gods; and is yet the retrenchment of the Libertines. For if it be true, that matter so and so disposed and modified in animals, be capable of choofing and reasoning, nothing can prove that the same thing may not happen in man. All the difference will consist in the construction of the Organs either more fine or delicate, or in the different position of the Springs which compose the machine. But by the way Mr. *Descartes* hath taken, to wit, in shewing that the propriety of the Soul incommunicably to the Body, is to think; and that the Body disposed or subtilized as you please, cannot form an Argument;

gment; one will not be deceived in the nature of the Soul, nor frame such gross Ideas of the Deity. He sought every where for Objections, and solicited his Friends to find him Adversaries; not so much out of a design to assure himself by their contradiction that he was not mistaken; as to have the pleasure to discover more clearly the solidity of his Metaphysicks: I need not relate how many storms were raised against him upon this occasion, nor to make a melancholly recital of all the Troubles which have disturbed that Contemplative Life, which he preferred to the Noise of the World. We have spoke thereof already; and moreover, all this is too well known, to stand in need of reciting things over again, which have but little reference to the Publick.

The Troubles that were raised against him, were not yet wholly appeased, & he scarcely began to study quietly in his sedate residence at * *Egmont*, when he was † invited by the Queen of *Sweden*. He suffered himself to be solicited for some time, out of an apprehension that his body would not bear the rigour of so Northern a Climate. His prefaces were but too true; he dyed * in *Sweden* four months after his arrival. The Queen honoured him with her sorrow and tears: Mr. *Baillet* bestows a whole Book in giving us Mr. *Descartes* Character; he doth it with an admirable exactness, forgetting nothing: We shall onely speak of the Qualities of his mind. Mr. *Descartes*, according to Mr. *Baillet*, was of Opinion, That when a man seeks for Reputation, he prostitutes his Liberty; and that the more a man seeks to gain the esteem of others, the more he ceaseth to be Master of himself: Therefore he took up this Devise, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*; or that Sentence of the Epicureans, *Cache ta Vie*, Keep thy Life private: He gave as a Reason for it, this Sentence of *Seneca*;

*Ille Mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

A man relinquisheth himself too much, when he strives so much to live in the imagination of others. In the mean while *Plutarch* in a Discourse made on purpose; hath diverted himself a little with the Maxim of *Epicurus*: *If thou wilt conceal thy self.* (saith he, addressing himself to *Epicurus*) *Why dost thou disperse thy Books in all Places? Why dost thou draw these Assemblies of Scholars after thee? Why dost not thou condemn thy self to silence? And why dost thou not put thy Epitaph upon thy Gate; that none may go about to trouble the repose of thy Tomb? If thou hast lived ill, thou wouldst do well not to shew thy self: The punishment of wicked men is the total abolition of their Memory, and that their Actions lie buried in Oblivion, and an Eternal Obscurity: As for good men, they ought never to shun the Light, they owe to the Publick the Use and Benefit of their great Qualities, and the Example of their good Actions.* Mr. *Descartes* practised not this Maxim in the ill sense, wherein *Plutarch* reproves it: He sought not Obscurity that he might be seen of no body, and did not pretend to withdraw himself absolutely from the view of mankind. It is true nevertheless, that if the love of Solitude had not made him savage, the frequency of Meditation had made him a little sad and reserved: His Conversation was plain, and nothing haughty: When he was obliged to speak upon

* In North-
Holland.

† In 1649.

* In 1650.

upon any point of Philosophy, he began always with his preamble, concerning the precipitation, wherewith men ordinarily judge concerning matters. The Enemies of Mr. *Descartes* all agreed to Accuse him of Vanity, and to reproach him for aspiring to the Glory of becoming the Head of a School. Mr. *Baillet* doth not much trouble himself, to justify him from a failing, which is so common to all those whose merit distinguishes them from the common Herd of mankind: He adds nevertheless, that his sincerity was misinterpreted for presumption and pride. He explained himself too sincerely, concerning the disdain he had for some things, which others admired; and he affirmed, that to have a sufficient number of Approbators, we must speak according to the vulgar Opinion, and not against it. But a man, by opposing himself against the torrent of Opinions, is look'd upon as proud and presumptuous: It is urg'd also, as a Proof of his Moderation, that he had an indifference for the Title of Learned, to which he might pretend, together with the modesty of his doubts.

Mr. *Descartes* is much more exclaim'd against in reference to Religion. 'Tis here that the Divines attack him most violently: And this Suspicion is spread even amongst his Followers. Mr. *Baillet* clears him fully, for he saith, that no man was ever more respectful towards the Deity, or spoke of Religion with more Circumspection and Care. He was very serious in respect to the Mysteries of Religion: Besides, his having an aversion for the troublesome Disputes and Contentions, wherewith Religion was encumber'd, he thought men determin'd too boldly what was possible or impossible to God, as though our understanding could be of as large an extent as the Almighty Power of God. *I dare not Argue, saith he, that God cannot make Two and Three not to be Five: I say onely, that he hath given me such a Nature, that I cannot conceive otherwise than that Two and Three must make Five:* There can be nothing more circumspect. Mr. *Baillet* is of Opinion, that he is Accus'd of Atheism, onely because he Confutes Atheism but weakly, as the Divines think. They conclude thence, that it was but a Feint to propose their Objections safely, and shew that it is not easie to convince them: So at the most he is but to be reproach'd with having, but meanly Confuted Atheists, instead of seeking Artifice in the weakness of his Arguments, which he took for demonstrations. The suspicion was best founded upon his excluding of Reason from discerning the Scriptures. On the one side, he was perswaded that none is so much affected with things which are discovered to us onely by Faith, & which our Reason cannot attain to, as they are with those which are discovered to us by clear Natural Reasons: And on the other, he held, That it is by the Divine Grace, or by an inward Light, wherewith God enlightens us, that we believe Matters of Religion. Now this Recourse to internal Grace, for a decisive Proof of the Divinity of the Scriptures, in a man accustomed to Reason, even to the highest degree, is a tacite Confession of the want of Proofs, and a Refuge to avoid being convicted of Infidelity. However it be, Mr. *Baillet* endeavours to purge him from the least stain of Atheism or Incredulity; and he hath even taken care to prove by Attestations in Form, that he acquitted himself exactly of all the Duties of Religion, like an Humble Catholick, and Pious, even to a title!

Before

Before I Conclude upon this Head, it is convenient to take a short View of two Treatises which attack this work of Mr. *Baillet*; the one is Entitled, *Nouveaux Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Cartésianisme, &c.* chez Guilleminet, 1699. in 12. pag. 102. The second is, That Mr. *Descartes* not pleas'd with the unfavourable reception of the Queen of Sweden, and weary of seeing himself murdered with Problems and Objections, and forced to sustain the troublesome quality of Oracle of Mankind, pretended to dye, that he might withdraw from the World, and confine himself in Lapland. We see hereby our Author is upon the pleasant pin: He fails not to observe some Over-sights of Mr. *Descartes*: The other Piece is a little more serious, being Entitled, *Reflexions d'un Academicien sur la Vie de Mr. Descartes, envoyées à un de ses amis en Hollande.* A la Haye, chez Arnould Leers, 1692. in 12. pag. 180. i. e. *Reflexions of an Academick upon the Life of Mr. Descartes, &c.* The Author falls immediately upon the Trifles wherewith Mr. *Baillet* hath swell'd his Book: For Example, he laughs at the exactness of Mr. *Baillet*, in observing that Mr. *Descartes*, being of a low Stature, carried the Plume, the Belt, and the Sword, and wore green Taffety. And that he had an Affection for Squint-ey'd women. He shews that this Description of his Heroe, and this Fantasticall Inclination might have been wisely concealed, for fear of making his Readers Spott. The Repri-mand for the frequent Digressions which swell Mr. *Baillet*'s History, is more grave: For what Advantage is it to speak of all the Potentates of Europe? It might have been sufficient to shew the Estate wherein Philosophy was at the time wherein this extraordinary Man appeared in the World, who was to instruct mankind, and discover the most secret Springs of Nature. but seeing he made no Alteration in Political Government, nor the State of Mankind, there was no necessity of going out of his way to relate all the Accidents which happened in Mr. *Descartes*'s Time, who had no other share in them, than onely by Hear-say, or as a simple Spectator. This is to write the History of the Times and not of Mr. *Descartes*, whose private Life is swallowed up with so many Accidents, which do not at all concern it, and which carries the Reader quite off from the Matter in hand. Frequently Mr. *Baillet*, after having plac'd Mr. *Descartes* somewhere, leaves him there for to make long Historical Excursions, and wanders through all Countries for to give a relation of them; and then afterwards he takes up Mr. *Descartes* again where he had left him. Our Heroe is in a manner forgotten, whilst he is but the distant Occasion of so many Narrations huddled together, wherein he makes no Figure. It had been much better then, to have employ'd all his Art in giving a lively and clear Exposition of Mr. *Descartes*'s System, that the pleasure of History might have been join'd with the Utility of Instruction: By this means reading the Life of the Philosopher, would have taught a man Philosophy, Algebra and Geometrical Geniuses would have been mightily pleas'd with such a marvellous Order and Concatenation of Principles and Consequents, which made a Cartesian say, That God had not given more Order to the ignominious Fabrick of the World, than there was in Mr. *Descartes*'s Thoughts. We willingly pass over the magnificent Titles he hath collected, as, *Applause of the Uni-*

verse, *Confident of Nature*, or *Demi-god* (as the Pilot of *Queen Christina* called him) wherewith *Mr. Descartes* hath been honoured. These figurative expressions, shew the opinion men had of him; but he descends to particulars, which this Author has so maliciously collected together, that one can scarcely forbear laughing at them as he does. He finds faults even from the beginning to the inventory of *Mr. Descartes* his goods, movable and immovable, which *Mr. Baillet* hath made after his death: He lays about him stoutly with his aires of pleasantry, and rejoyceth mightily at the rout which he conceives he hath put *Mr. Baillet* to.

Memoires de la vie de Friederic Maurice de la Tour D' Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon. Souvereign de Sedan. Avec quelques particularitez de la vie & des mœurs de Henri de la Tour D' Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne. Suivant la Copie de Paris. A Amsterdam, chez Adrian Braekman, Marchand Libraire dans le Beurs-straat by den Dam, 1693. in 12.

z. c.

Memoires of the Life of Frederick Maurice de la Tour D' Auvergne, Duke of Bouillon Sovereign of Sedan. With some particulars of the Life and Actions of Henry de la Tour D' Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne. At Amsterdam, 1693. in 12.

THIS short History of the Duke of *Bouillon* comprehends also the History of the Court of *France*, wherein he lived, and the various intrigues of State in his time, wherein he bore a principal part. So that it is not to be looked upon only as the History of a Private Person, but also of the Councils and Affairs of one of the greatest States in Europe. 'Tis writ by the Baron de *Saumiers* Secretary of the Kings

Kings Cabinet, and was found amongst his papers after his death: 'Tis not collected from common Reports and uncertain Memoires, but from the Authors one knowledge, and information from the persons concerned, he being acquainted with the Councils, and Springs which gave motion to the Actions he relates, which whoever knows not, is but a lame Historian. He who is a stranger to what is transacted in the Cabinet, and sees only what is done in the Field and appears above board, must needs make a very imperfect relation, and leave his reader in the dark; whereas they who unravel the Councils and Springs, by which publick actions are moved and governed, do not only represent the shew, but lead us behind the Curtain, and give us a perfect knowledge and insight into the whole matter. The Causes therefore and Councils that give life to publick Actions, give both light and life to the Relations and Histories of them. This therefore is one principal ornament of this small History, to which I may add another, that being writ by a Statesman, and one skilled in the Cabinet, he gives you very Grave and Politick remarks and observations upon affairs, so that the reader may not only please his fancy with the novelty and variety of events; but also inform his Judgment and Understanding at the same time, and grow wiser and better by prudently remarking, and carefully avoiding other mens faults and failings: But not to detain the reader with a recommendation of the History, we shall give him a brief Abstract and Epitome of it.

He relates but little of his Infancy, to which he was a stranger: The place of his Studies was *Sedan*, and his Tutor *du Moulin* a Protestant Minister. He was Educated in the reformed Religion, of which his Parents made profession; his first Salley was into *Holland*, at the Age of Sixteen years, which was then the Seat of War, and best School for learning the Art thereof. He made his entrance into the Military profession, under the Conduct of his Uncle the Prince of *Orange*; he answered so well the Care that was taken of him, that he soon made himself remarkable, which hapned at the Seige of *Boisleduc*, after this manner: The Prince of *Orange* having layn long before the Town, his Army was so fatigued and weakened, that succors being prepared for the relief thereof, he lookt upon himself as unable to hinder their entrance, and a resolution was privately taken at a Council of War, to raise the Seige. The Duke of *Bouillon* being informed of it, asked leave to go and oppose the succors that were coming to their relief; he gave so good an account of his project to the Prince of *Orange*, that it was approved of, and he had the men he demanded, and Attacked the Convoy, Defeated it, and took their Commander Prisoner, and brought the Convoy into the Camp. This gained him a great Reputation, for the Town was soon after surrendered, and he in reward thereof was made Governour of *Maastricht*. The Prince of *Orange* was well pleased with his Promotion, and designed him for his son-in-law: But he going soon after Incognito to *Bruxels* at the Carnival, he saw there *Madam de Bergh* his kinswoman, and falling passionately in love with her, he soon after returned to *Bruxels*, where the Marriage was concluded, but without the approbation of *Madam* his Mother, who did not like that her Son should

Marry a Papist. This was followed not long after, by his own profession of the Catholick Religion, and in the mean time the *Spaniards* Besieged *Maestricht*: Into which the Duke of *Bouillon* cast himself, and defended it, till the Prince of *Orange* came with an Army to his relief. Having made a publick Profession of the Romish Religion, he resolved to follow the Court of *France*, where Cardinal *Richieu* was then prime Minister; he governed things absolutely under the King, who yet privately hated him; but his great abilities and successes made him necessary for that Station: he hated all that did not depend absolutely on himself, and the Duke not being born for slavery, returned soon after to *Sedan*, whither the Count of *Soissons* retired presently after, as to a place of refuge & shelter from the hatred and Tyranny of the Cardinal. The Duke gave him Entertainment, and things coming soon after to a Rupture, betwixt him and the Court of *France*, he engaged in this young Princes quarrel; they prepared for War, and made a Treaty with the *Emperour* and *Spaniards*, wherein the *Emperour* promised to assist them with *Seven Thousand* men, and the *Arch-Duke* for the *Spaniards* with the same number, which were to be sent towards *Sedan* in June; the *Spaniards* promised also *Two Hundred Thousand* Crowns, but sent only a part of the Monies and none of the Troops; but the *Emperour* sent General *Lamboy* with *Seven Thousand* men; and in the mean time the Marshal de *Chaillon* the French General took the Field, and advanced towards *Sedan*; the Duke seeing him approach, sent to General *Lamboy* to hasten his passing the *Meuse*, and joining of him. The Count remained wavering and uncertain what to do, but the Armies approaching near each other, the Battle begun; the Marshal de *Chaillon* being a Valiant General, but very negligent, conceived that *Lamboy* was still beyond the *Meuse*, and advanced with a design to oppose his passage, but met with the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was advanced before with a good Body of Cavalry, and *Lamboy* followed with the Infantry and Cannon, as did *Monsieur* the Count with his Troops. The Duke of *Bouillon* with his Cavalry charged the Enemy, and broke them, driving them foul upon the Infantry, and thereby put all into disorder. Things succeeded well where *Lamboy* Commanded, who fought like a Brave General and man of Courage; the greatest resistance was at the Cannon, which the Duke of *Bouillon* Attacked with great hazard of his Life: After he had taken them and dispersed the Troops which he found there, the Enemy Rallyed no more: Whereupon the Duke of *Bouillon* being near the place where *Monsieur* the Count was, went himself to assure him of the victory, but found the Count dead.

He lost his life without fighting, and after the Victory, being Incompassed with his own Guards, and yet none knew certainly how he came by his death. Our Author thinks (after having learnt what he could from those who were near him) that he killed himself; and that was the opinion of the Duke of *Bouillon*, for its certain that he lifted up the vizer of his Helmet twice with the end of his Pistol; and that *Aquemont* his Esquire, informed him of the danger of it; its certain also, that the shot he received was in the middle of his forehead; and discharged so near him, that the paper went into his head, and it happening so, that none had

had their eyes upon him at that time; the shame and despair of those that were near him, and especially their prejudice against the Cardinal, made them say, that it was, he who caused him to be Assassinated by a Traytor, who had slipped in amongst his Guards. It is easie to guess the surprize and sorrow that seized the Duke when he found the Count dead, but he soon returned to keep his Troops from disorder by plunder, that he might assure the Victory, which was so entire, that the Marshal de *Chaillon* lost all his Infantry, and almost all the principal Officers of the Army were either killed or taken prisoners.

After the Battle, the Duke and *Lamboy* besieged *Donchery*, a place upon the *Mause*, a League from *Sedan*, which they carried in four days; *Lamboy* could not be prevailed with to proceed any further, but staying some time to refresh his Troops, he afterwards went to joyn the Cardinal *Infanta*, who marched to the Relief of *Aire*, the Duke finding *Lamboy* Retreated, and the *Spaniards* failing in the performance of their Treaty, so that he was left alone, with his own Forces, and the Marshal de *Breze* having joyned the Marshal de *Chaillon* at the head of his Army, the Duke of *Bouillon* accepted of a place that was offered him; in the management whereof *Cinqmars* Grand Eq; of *France*, who was a Favorite of the Kings, and in no good terms with the Cardinal, did the Duke some offices of kindness, and sought his friendship: After the Peace, the Duke went to *Mexieres* to wait upon the King, where he was very kindly received, and the Cardinal made him great complements; but the more shew of kindness the Cardinal made, the more his sincerity was suspected by the Duke.

The King returned to *Paris*, and the Duke stayed at *Sedan*, being undetermined what resolution to take; to continue at *Sedan*, was to render himself suspected to *France*, to expose himself to new dangers, and shut up the way to his Glory and Advancement. He could expect nothing from the King of *Spain* and *Emperour*, who had so lately abandoned him; and to go to Court where the Cardinal was so Powerful, he saw very unsafe, for he had offended the Cardinal too much to hope for an intire reconciliation: He was in great perplexity how to determine and fix his resolution, but thought it better to chuse the worst part, than none at all; and in fine, resolved to go to Court.

He found it at *Nesle* in *Piccardy*, de *Thou* met him on the way, and *Cinqmars* waited upon him at his arrival; de *Thou* used all his endeavours to cultivate the friendship he had begun, between the Duke de *Bouillon* and *Cinqmars*: He was very much offended with the Cardinal for refusing him a Post in the Army which he desired, therefore he resolved to omit nothing which might contribute to his ruine. He apprehended that the Cardinals Power diminished, and that the favour of *Cinqmars* encreased daily; he desired the Duke of *Bouillon* to discourse in private with *Cinqmars*, but the Duke answered, that it was very dangerous to give the least suspicion of any private and particular conversation, and desired him to divert *Cinqmars*; and told de *Thou*, as a friend, that he was willing to live in good correspondence with *Cinqmars*, and make suitable Returns to the Advances he made, and the good offices he received from him, but that he was no ways

ways inclined to embarque in his Interests, or embarrass himself anew. *De Thou* promised to work things so with *Cinqmars*, that his good dispositions should not be changed: And *Cinqmars* meeting the Duke at Court some time after, told him, that he desired nothing more than his amity, but that he had ordered *de Thou* to assure him, that he would not desire it, till after he had merited it by some signal service. To which the Duke of *Bouillon* answered by a complement, and referred the rest to *de Thou*.

The Duke left the Court at *Nesle*, and went to *Paris*; at his taking leave of *Cinqmars*, he was told by him (after Reiterated protestations of his friendship) that if any thing hapned worthy his knowledge, he would give him an account of it by *de Thou*. Thus they parted in good correspondence together, but without any particular engagement.

Cinqmars was very handsome in his Person, Courageous, of a great Mind, Bold and Capable of great Enterprizes, and of managing them with great Skill and Dexterity; but not being above Twenty one Years of Age, he was without Experience, Ungovernable and Presumptuous, faults commonly inseparable from Youth and Riches. He could never vanquish the hatred he had for the Cardinal; if he could but have moderated his passion, even in the Kings presence, there was nothing he might not have aspired to, considering his Masters passionate love for him, and the Age and Infirmities of the Cardinal.

The Cardinal at first took care of the Conduct of *Cinqmars*, and had in some measure promoted his fortune by his friendship towards the Marshal *de Fias* his father.

At the return from the Progress into *Picardy*, *Cinqmars* demanded to be admitted into the Council; he thought the Cardinal would not oppose it, because he knew the King acquainted him even with the most secret and important matters: but when the King proposed it to the Cardinal, he replied, that it was enough to discredit their Councils amongst Foreigners, to see so young an head have any share in them; he said the same to *Cinqmars* himself, with other words so offensive, that they put him into a very passionate fit of rage and anger.

Sometime after, when the Cardinal was informed, that *Cinqmars* made Courtship to the Princess *Mary*, and pretended to Marry her, he used some such provoking raileries towards him upon that occasion; and said, he thought that the Princess had not so far forgot her birth, as to accept of so mean a Companion. This discourse being related to him completed his hatred towards the Cardinal.

Whilst these things passed at Court between the Cardinal and *Cinqmars*, the Duke of *Bouillon* went a Journey into *Guyenne*, having made some stay at *Turreane*; and afterwards going into *Perigord*, when he was at *Limeuil*, as he was coming from hunting, an unknown Person gave him a billet from *de Thou*; he was extremely surprized when he found it dated but half a League from *Limeuil*, and that *de Thou* desired him to appoint a Place where they might discourse together without his being known; he did what was desired, and *de Thou* told him, that he was charged with a message from *Cinqmars*, to desire him instantly to return to Court, it being about matters of great importance: He askt *de Thou* the reason

of

of this proposition, but was the more surprized, when he understood that *Cinqmars* had not acquainted him therewith; at this he seemed to be much displeased, saying, That he was but newly arrived, and it would be very inconvenient for him to return without any plausible pretence, or apparent Reason: whereupon *de Thou* returned little satisfied with his journey.

About Three Weeks after *de Thou*'s return, the Duke received a Letter from the King, to come to Court with all speed; he departed immediately, and before he came to Court, *de Thou* came to wait upon him from *Cinqmars*, to desire that they might confer together, before the Duke saw either the King or Cardinal; the Duke was brought to *Cinqmars* privately, *Fontrails* was in the chamber with him, whom *Cinqmars* presented to the Duke as one in whom he had an especial confidence; after the first complements, *Fontrails* and *de Thou* went into a Closet, and then *Cinqmars* told the Duke, that the King was not well since his return from *Picardy*, and yet the Cardinal had put him upon a new Journey into *Catalonia*; that at the same time it was resolved to send for him from *Turvenne*, to give him the Command of the Army in *Italy*, which he thought proceeded not from any good intentions of the Cardinal towards him, who represented him disadvantageously to the King, and said, That this Lady had too great an ascendant over him, she being inclined to favour the *Spaniards*, and that he had heard Monsieur *Noyers* say to the King, That it was no difficult matter to take *Sedan* from him, for that being obliged by the Treaty to receive the Kings Troops into it, they might Lawfully Arrest him, if he should refuse those which should be sent thither: That their distrust of him was so great, that they would not suffer him to return to *Sedan*, but would send him into *Italy*, only to secure his Person if the King should die, that it would not be difficult to Arrest him in an Army where he had no Troops of his own, nor friends that he could depend upon; and besides, the principal Action would be towards *Flanders* and *Germany*. *Cinqmars* added, that himself was more than ever in the Kings favour, as also in the good opinion of Monsieur, whom he had informed that they designed to oblige him also, to make the journey to *Catalonia*, but that he advised him not to go, being assured, that the Cardinal designed to arrest him, if the King should happen to dye: That in that case the Cardinal had no mean designs, having perswaded the King to leave the Queen and her two Children in the Castle of *Vincennes*, whereof *Chavigni* his Creature was Governour; that the King could not live long, and the Cardinal had put him upon this journey, that dying at a distance, and the Cardinal being Master of the Court and Army, his Ambition would have no bounds, but what he pleased to set to it. I have advised Monsieur also, said *Cinqmars*, that in that extremity he should make sure of the *Spaniards*, that if the King dyed, their party might be supported by strangers, which should be grounded upon a Treaty for a general peace, and by that means they might shelter themselves from the pernicious designs of the Cardinal, who was their common enemy, and that the readiest way to ruin him, if the King dyed not, was to dispose Monsieur to betake himself to Arms; and I said he can oblige the King to Abandon the Cardinal, of whom he already grows weary; and I have made a

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Draught

Draught of a TREATY with *Spain*, which I will shew you.

Here the Duke of *Bouillon* interrupted him, and said, As to the Treaty with *Spain*, I came so lately out of their hands, and have found so much of their Falseness and Weakness, that I am resolved never to intrust my self with them again; and their Divisions are so great, that they will infallibly ruine themselves. *Cinqmars* was mightily surprized to find the Duke so averse to a Treaty with *Spain*; and though he feared he had explained himself too far already, yet he proceeded to affirm, That it would be advantageous to *Monsieur*, to make a Treaty with *Spain*, but that he would prevent his making use of it, unless in case of necessity: and speaking again concerning the Duke of *Bouillon*, he assured him, That he had made his Peace with his Royal Highness; and ended, by observing to the Duke, how much he might depend upon him, seeing he had imparted such Matters to him, as that his Life and Fortune depended upon his secrecy.

The Duke of *Bouillon* answered, That he should never have Cause to repent it; and then asked him, If he had acquainted *de Thou* with the Matter; and understanding he had not, the Duke also said he would not speak to him concerning it; that as to the employ of *Italy*, he would deliberate concerning it, and they might discourse of other Matters at more leisure.

This Discourse gave the Duke of *Bouillon* Subject enough to consider upon: He was presently to Resolve, concerning the Employ of *Italy*: he saw danger in Accepting of it, and more in his Refusal; and if he took that Resolution, he had no other way, but to retire speedily and privately to *Sedan*.

This was what *Cinqmars*, and the Enemies of the Cardinal might most desire; but this (though it might seem most for his present security) he foresaw would end in his utter Ruine; besides, the Dutches of *Bouillon*, and his Children, were at *Turenne*, being as it were Hostages of his Conduct: In fine, having considered all things, he resolved to accept the Employ, being something moved with the Glory of being sent for, to command an Army for the King, within six Months after the Battle of *Sedan*.

The King was now infirm, and it was generally believed he could not live long; Every one was full of Projects how to regulate themselves upon the Revolution they expected: The Queen feared the having her Children taken away from her by the Cardinal; the better to support his Regency; the Duke of *Orleans*, who had often found the bloody Effects of the Cardinals Hatred, look'd upon him as his most dangerous Enemy: The Duke of *Bouillon* was not a little perplexed, and at a loss how to regulate himself, and what Measures to take; the Employ of *Italy* was now offered him, and though he had not declared his Resolutions, yet it was spread abroad at Court, that he refused the Employ.

The Queen believing this Report, sent *de Thou* privately to the Duke of *Bouillon*, to engage him to her service, and desired two things of him; First, That he would accept the Employ of *Italy*, thinking it for her Benefit, to have a Person of his Merit, whom she could confide in, at the Head of an Army: And Secondly, That he would promise to receive her, with her two Children, into *Sedan*, if the King should dye; she being so apprehensive of the Cardinal, that she could not look upon her self to be safe in *France*: *De Thou* also told him, That the Queen and Duke of *Orleans* were, since
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the Kings Sickness, entered into a strict League and Correspondence with one another, which was effected chiefly by the Mediation of *Cinqmars*.

The Duke answered, That it was impossible things should come to that extremity, as that the Children of *France* should need a Retreat, but that they should always be Masters at *Sedan*, if the Queen pleased to send them thither, and that he should think it a great Honour to receive them; and as to the Employ of *Italy*, if it was offered him, he would comply with the Queens desire in accepting of it.

The King began now to recover, and the Duke was offered the Employ of *Italy* by the Cardinal, which he accepted. The same day *Cinqmars* came to wait upon the Duke, to carry him to *Monsieur*; *Monsieur* spoke very obligingly to him, and desired his friendship, promising to serve him upon all occasions: *Cinqmars* added, (addressing himself to *Monsieur*) That he thought he had done him a great Service, in having brought over to his Interest, a Person of the Dukes Quality and Merit; then he spoke of the Cardinal without any Respect or Restraint, making a large Narration of what they were all to fear, if the King dyed, and *Fontrails* and *Aubijoux* being present, he said it was necessary to Treat with the *Spaniards*: Then *Monsieur* replied, That he was going to send *Fontrails* to *Madrid*, and that he would recommend the Interest of the Duke of *Bouillon* to him, if he pleased to enter into the Treaty. The Duke answered, That he had already declared his mind to *Cinqmars*, and that he had not changed his Opinion since. Then he represented the Condition of the *Spaniards*, and their want of Performance of their Treaties; adding, That he doubted not but their Consideration for the Person of *Monsieur*, would oblige them to do more than they had done for the Count, or him, but that there was no precaution sufficient against their want of Faith and Weakness: The Duke of *Bouillon*, as we may easily judge, was not prepared for this Conversation, and was sorry to see himself exposed to it; yet making Reflections upon the Power *Monsieur* would have, if the King should dye, and the Engagements that were betwixt him and the Queen, wherewith *de Thou* had acquainted him, he thought himself obliged to discourse further of the Revolution which was expected: He added then, That he knew not what the Design might be, if the King should dye, but that considering the Confidence he was pleased to have in him, he thought himself obliged to acquaint him, that a Person of his Merit, ought always to depend upon his own Country-men, and not on Strangers; that he might have observed, that when the Cardinal look'd upon him as his Enemy, he had omitted nothing that might bring him to a Resolution of departing out of *France*: that in a Regency, he would without question desire the same; that being amongst the Enemies of the State, it would always be a plausible pretence of suspecting his Intentions, and of alienating the Parliament and People from his Interest; that there was no danger of his being Arrested, if the King dyed: that the Queen only was capable of Disputing any thing with him under a Regency; and if they were united, there was no appearance that the Cardinal alone could resist them; but that if he should be reduced to a necessity of departing out of *France*, *Sedan* would be a safe Retreat for him, the Queen, and Children of *France*; and he engaged himself not to enter into any other Interest but theirs.

theirs: Then *Monseigneur* took the Duke and *Cinqmars* aside from *Fontrails*, and *Aubijoux*, and acquainted the Duke with the Intelligence there was between the Queen and him, concluding with his great satisfaction in the Dukes kind Expressions.

When the Duke was alone with *Cinqmars*, he told him how incongruous it was to insinuate to *Monseigneur* the Retreat to *Sedan*. That there was no necessity of speaking before him, concerning the Treaty of *Spain*: *Cinqmars* Replied, *All this obliges you to nothing, I have rendered you a considerable piece of Service, not only in having reconciled you to Monseigneur, and obliged him to dis- course before you with so much Confidence; but further also, in having persuaded him to deliver himself intirely into your hands, as he will do, if he retire to Sedan; but I promise nevertheless, to hinder it, if you think it not expedient.*

The Duke Answered, *Remember that I have not promised any Retreat to Sedan, but only in case of the Kings Death; for whilst he is living, it would be an odd piece of Conduct in me, to be found at the Head of one of his Armies, whilst Monseigneur and the Spaniards should make Sedan the Seat of a Civil War.*

The next day the Duke reported to *de Thou*, the Discourse he had had with *Monseigneur*, excepting only what concerned the *Spaniards*; and also what passed between *Cinqmars* and him, after parting with *Monseigneur*, that as much a Favourite as he was, if he acted so with him again, they should certainly come to a Rupture, and that he perceived easily, that all his officious care, proceeded only from a desire he had to embarque him in the Affair, and to make him a Support against the Cardinal.

De Thou did not excuse *Cinqmars*; he owned, that his youth oftentimes made him proceed too rashly, and that the Duke should take care of engaging himself.

Cinqmars had now lost some part of the King's Favour, yet endeavoured to conceal it from the Duke of *Bouillon*; and the Duke going now to take leave of the Cardinal, before he went his Journey into *Italy*, not finding him at home, dined with *Cinqmars*; and after dinner, being alone with him and *Fontrails*, *Cinqmars* could not forbear declaring his Hatred against the Cardinal, and to discourse of the Treaty with *Spain*; the Duke was not sorry for it, that he might shew his Opinion was not changed; but *Fontrails*, upon occasion of the difficulty which the Duke proposed, took occasion to say, *There was shorter and more assured Methods to be taken with the Cardinal, if any one would put them in practice: Cinqmars* Replied, *That the other Means Fontrails meant, were no doubt, if the Duke of Bouillon, instead of going into Italy, would give a Retreat to Monseigneur in Sedan, and retire with him to declare War against the Cardinal:* The Duke Replied, *That they were to keep to what had been agreed to already, and that he would not proceed any further:* Then he added, *That Sedan was a good Place, but not able to hold out long before a powerful Army, because there were two Posts near it, which could not well be maintained; and that the taking of them would infallibly occasion the Loss of the Place, that all they could reckon upon Sedan for, was to assemble an Army there to be ready to enter into France to hazard a Battle.* This Conversation being ended, the Duke waited upon the Cardinal in the Evening, where it was agreed, that he might depart for *Turenne* as soon as he pleased.

The Duke now went to take leave of *Monseigneur*, when *de Thou* came to tell him the News, That the Marshal *de Guebriant* had defeated *Lamboy*; whereupon the Duke said, That after this Check; there was nothing more to be expected from the *Spaniards*, and that their Affairs would be entirely ruined in *Flanders*, if the *Hollanders* any ways favoured *France*.

The Duke stayed two or three days at *Paris* upon his Private Business: *Cinqmars* came again to bid him adieu, and renewed all his former Protestations of Friendship.

The Duke passing by *Limoges*, *Fontrails* arrived there in a manner as soon as he, and having found him, Acquainted him, That he was going to *Madrid* by Order of *Monseigneur*, for to Treat with the *Spaniards*; and that looking upon him, as one that was to sustain the Weight of Affairs, he desired him above all things, to take especial Care of his Person: The Duke Answered, He thought *Monseigneur* had layd aside the Treaty with *Spain*, upon the News of the Defeat of *Lamboy*; that as for himself, he might well judge this ill Success of theirs had not altered his Disposition, and therefore desired him not to name him in the Negotiation, for that he was more fully resolved than ever, not to engage himself with the *Spaniards*, in a Matter wherein his Life was concerned: *Fontrails* endeavoured to make him less positive, but in vain.

Towards the end of *March*, *Monmort* going to *Toulouse*, rid Post by *Turenne*: He was a Gentleman of Quality, and as much a Favourite and Confident of *Cinqmars* as *Fontrails*. *Cinqmars* had Ordered him to tell the Duke he would have him so to order his Business, that he might meet him at *Lyons*, as he went to *Italy*, when the King passed that way on his Journey to *Catalonia*; but the Duke retarded his Journey, not being willing to hear of any more troublesome Propositions: The Duke being at *Turenne*, near to *Lyons*, *Monmort* came Post to him by Night, to acquaint him, That the Cardinal was at the last extremity, and *Cinqmars* very much in the Kings Favour; that *Fontrails* was come back with the Treaty from *Madrid*, Signed as they had projected it, but that in the Condition wherein the Cardinal was, it would be useless: The Duke Replied, It was very happy they stood not in need of the *Spanish* Succours, for he was very well assured, they could not give them any that was considerable.

The Cardinal indeed was sick some few days; after he had passed *Lyons*, he stayed by the way, and was carried to *Tarascon*, whilst the King went to the Siege of *Perpignan*: The Cardinal was not only afflicted with his own Sickness, but also with the growing Favour of *Cinqmars*; inasmuch, that he sometimes deliberated, Whether he should not retire from Court, *Cinqmars*, his declared Enemy, being so much in Favour there.

In the mean time, the King fell sick at *Perpignan*, and was carried to *Narbonne*; and it was the general Opinion, that he was past Recovery: *Cinqmars* sent a Courier to inform *Monseigneur* of it, who was gone to *Bourbon*, under pretence of drinking the Waters: He no sooner received the News of the King's Sickness, but he sent the Count *de Aubijoux* Post immediately to the Duke of *Bouillon*. He carried only one Letter of Credence, and was sent to demand of the Duke of *Bouillon*, the necessary Orders for *Monseigneur*, the Queen and her Children to be received into Sedan.

This seemed to be plausible, and Glorious enough to the Duke of *Bouillon*, but he had reason to fear, lest by this Engagement, he should find himself (contrary to his inclinations) imbarqu'd with the *Spaniards* in carrying on a Civil War: *De Aubijoux*, who knew with what impatience they expected his Return, endeavoured to remove his Suspicions, and told him, he was too much his Servant, to conceal from him, that if they sent him back without granting him any thing, *Monsieur* would resent it mortally; and if the King dyed at *Narbonne*, (as it was not doubted but he would) he would find himself to be, in ill Circumstances, to have the Cardinal for his Secret, and *Monsieur* for his declared Enemy.

The Duke resisted some time all these Considerations, but a Courier coming from Court, with Letters for him, and the Officers of the Army, which all declared that they despaired of the King's Life; the Duke then resolved, and gave *de Aubijoux* the Letters he desired, taking an Oath of him, that he would not let them go out of his hands, till after the King's Death; and that if he recovered, he would keep them to restore unto him; or if he found it dangerous, that he should burn them.

At the return of *Aubijoux* things were strangely changed, the King was out of danger, and the Cardinal amidst his consternations and fears, had been informed of the journey *Fontrails* had made to *Madrid*, he sent *Charvigni* Secretary of State, to inform the King thereof; desiring his secrecy; but *Cinqmars* perceived some alteration in the King's affection to him, and spoke thereof to *Fontrails*, who advised him to retire to *Monsieur*; but not being able to persuade him to it, he under a pretence of a duel saved himself in *England*: *Cinqmars* sent to inform *Monsieur* of it, who desired him to meet him at *Moulins* at an appointed time, for he was resolved to go out of the Kingdom, by the way of *Franch Comté*.

In the mean time, the Cardinal used all his endeavours to discover the design of *Fontrails* voyage, and obtained in the end, a Copy of the Treaty with *Spain*, it not being known by whom or what means he discovered it; he sent it to the King, and thereupon *Cinqmars* and *de Thou* were arrested, and orders sent to observe *Monsieur*, who seeing himself prevented from escaping, confessed the whole matter to the King, upon promise of pardon.

The Chancellour was sent for to form *de Thou*, and *Cinqmars* process; and seeing *Fontrails*, to give the *Spaniards* a greater Idea of their Party, had named the Duke of *Bouillon* in the Treaty, they sent in all haste to arrest him.

The orders were sent to the General Officers that Commanded under him, the Count *de Plessis-Fraslin*, *Couvonges*, and *Casallan*; who fearing to arrest him at the head of his Army, resolved to do it at the Cittadel of *Cazal*, which the Duke was to visit the next day. *Couvonges* who was Governour of it went before, the Duke took *Casallan* along with him, and left *du Plessis* to Command in the Camp; the Duke going to his Lodgings after supper, met an Officer who came from the Army, and asking him what news, The Officer said, he knew none, but if there were any, he might hear it of the Count *du Plessis* who was arrived before him: the Duke said to *Couvonges*, that he knew not what the Count meant by quitting

quitting the Army without his leave: *Couvonges* said, he was newly arrived, but gave so slender a reason for it, that the Duke began to suspect something.

Couvonges observed the Dukes surprise, as he had done his, and went to look the Count *de Plessis* to inform him of what had hapned; they had resolved to arrest him when he was in bed, and it fell to *Couvonges* lot to acquaint him with it: but he had so great an esteem and respect for the Duke, that he could not resolve upon arresting him in the Cittadel, but rather chose to arrest him in the Town, thinking thereby that he should observe in some measure the rules of hospitality, and perform with less regret, an action for which he could not excuse himself. *Couvonges* having told *de Plessis* and *Casallan*, what had hapned between the Duke and him, they judged that it was dangerous to defer it a moment longer; whereupon *Couvonges* went back into the Dukes Chamber, where finding him walking, he desired to speak with him in private: *Couvonges* began with the ordinary complement upon such an occasion, that he was extremely sorry, that he had received an order from the King, to make him prisoner. The Duke answered, if he had any, it was counterfeited, and demanded to see it. *Couvonges* answered, he had left it with the Count *de Plessis* who was not far off. Then the Duke bad him go look for it, and laying his hand upon his Sword, added, That he knew not what should hinder him from running him through, since he knew so little his Duty, as to attempt to arrest one of his Quality, without having his orders ready. *Couvonges* went out into the Court, and the Duke putting out the lights, went out at a back door; he met in the street *Saint Aubin* the Master of his Household, and having acquainted him with the matter, they went to the Rampart and endeavoured to escape, but judged it impossible, having cast down stones in several places to find the height of the Walls. *Saint Aubin* offered to have leapt down first, but the Duke would not suffer him.

The watch appearing the Duke went back, and staying near the ruins of a house, sent *Saint Aubin* into the Town to see in what posture they were, and to buy Cords wherewith to get down the Wall: *Saint Aubin* quickly returned, and told him that all the avenues were seized, and that the people had taken Arms upon the report that he would have delivered *Cazal* into the hands of the *Spaniards*: And the Duke himself presently heard them proclaim with sound of Trumpet, a reward of one Hundred Pistoles to any that could take him alive or dead.

In this extremity, finding himself in a street that had no passage through, wherein there was an Ale house, he went in pretending to drink; he found in the house only one woman, whose husband was run out upon occasion of the noyse in the streets, but soon came back and told them what he had learnt: The Duke seeing he had no other shift, endeavoured to gain this man; and that he might do it the more easily, sent out his wife for some Wine: He then offered him his purse, wherein were Twenty or Thirty pieces of Gold, and promised to make his Fortunes. He gained him so far, that before his wife came back, he had hidden him in a hay-loft, promising the next night to save him, and say nothing to his wife; but he could

could not forbear acquainting her with the secret, and she discovered it to *Couvonges* on the morrow; who going to see if it were true, and having made some Soldiers get up into the loft, the Duke seeing himself discovered, drew his Sword, saying, He would kill the first that should come near him: One of the Soldiers struck a Pistol at him, but it missed fire; which *Couvonges* hearing, went up with a ladder, and said to the Souldiers, that he would hang the first that should touch the Duke.

The people were ready to assassinate him in the streets as he passed, by reason of the report of his delivering the place to the *Spaniards*: But he was carried away in a pad-lockt Chariot, and with a strong Guard.

The Duke *de Bouillon* Receiving from his friends, when he was in Prison, a Biller, which gave him an account of affairs; was in the greatest Indignation possible, when he understood that *Fentrails* had not only assured the King of *Spain* on *Monsieur's* behalf, that the Duke would enter into the Treaty, and make *Sedan* a place of Retreat, but also that in the same treaty they had demanded, and obtained a pension for him: and it was an addition to his grief when he understood, that *Monsieur* having given a Copy of the Treaty, had not mentioned in what case only it was that the Duke had promised to receive him into *Sedan*: perhaps not being willing to discover to the King the project they had formed upon the occasion of his death, nor to the Cardinal what fears and apprehensions they had of him.

In the mean while the process of *Cinqmars* and *de Thou* was made, who were condemned to have their Heads cut off; the one as Author of the Treaty with *Spain*, the other for knowing of it, and not revealing it.

They both dyed with great Courage and Piety: *Cinqmars* being ready to ascend the Scaffold, writ to his Mother to desire her to pay some of his Creditors; and the Letter discovered the great freedom of his mind, and the care he had of his Conscience; and *de Thou* made a very Religious discourse, wherein he discovered a great Faith, and Renunciation of the world.

The Duke little skil'd in the Laws of the Realm, thought he had done but like a man of Honour, in not discovering the secrets of his friends; and that it was sufficient to excuse him from Treason, in not giving any power, or having signed any thing relating to the Treaty with *Spain*; but when he heard of the Condemnation of *de Thou*, he nothing doubted of his own Ruine, and endeavoured to prepare himself for death; but he escaped Condemnation thro' the Interest of the Viscount *de Turenne* his Brother, and especially by the negotiation of Mademoiselle *de Bouillon*, who was sent to the Court, by the Dutchess *Bouillon* her Sister - in - law, to acquaint the Cardinal, that if they executed her husband, she would deliver *Sedan* to the *Spaniards*; she also declared, that she had power to treat for his Life and Liberty; and it was agreed, that the King should have *Sedan*, and give the Duke a recompence in other Lands; and that during the execution of the Treaty, the Duke should be set at liberty, and the Kings Troops enter into *Sedan*.

Cardinal *Mazaraine*, a creature of Cardinal *Reichelieu's*, was sent on the Kings part to receive and take all necessary securities; and the Dutchess being

being perswaded that the Life and Liberty of her Husband depended upon her surrendring of *Sedan*, did it with the same Freedom, as she would have received a considerable Favour, and went to *Turenne* to see the Duke her Husband who was retired thither.

The Duke, though despoyled of his Sovereignty, and newly come out of Prison, did not discover any change of his Mind and Temper. Four or five months after his Arrival at *Turenne*, the Cardinal *Reichelieu* dyed at *Paris*: The Duke altered not his Conduct upon this occasion, but the King dying four or five months after him, made him take new Resolutions. The Queen being declared Regent, and *Monsieur* the Duke of *Orleans* Chief of the Council, the Duke thought it might be very advantageous to him; whereupon he came to Court, and was well received; and it was thought he would speedily be restored to *Sedan*: But he soon found Matters cool, and instead of having an Audience of the Queen and *Monsieur*, he was referred to the Abbot *de la Rivere*, to discourse with him concerning his Pretensions.

He desired to have *Sedan* restored to him, till the Treaty of Exchange was agreed on, and signed; otherways he foresaw, that there would be infinite Delays and Controversies in it, if it was regarded only as his private Affair, and not as having the King's Interest engaged in it, in acquiring so considerable a Fortref; and as a Pledge of his own Fidelity, he was willing to leave his Children for Hostages: The Abbot Replyed, It was not in his power to grant what he demanded, but that he would represent his Case fairly, and that it should not be his fault, if he did not receive a speedy and favourable Answer. The Duke waited long for it, and not being able to see the Queen and *Monsieur*, he went to wait upon the Abbot, and going often without finding of him, one day being in his Anti Chamber, when some Persons of Quality came from him, and demanding also to speak with him, a *Valet de Chambre* said, he was gone abroad: This quite overcame his patience, and he told the *Valet de Chambre*, that he might assure his Master, if it had not been for the Consideration of *Monsieur*, he would have treated him after such a manner, that he should have had Cause to remember, as long as he liv'd, how uncivily he had behaved himself towards him: This made great Noise at Court, and the Queen and *Monsieur* not being willing to recompence his Service, proposed to the Council to arrest him, but he being informed of it rid Post, without taking leave, to *Turenne*.

Some Particulars of the Life and Actions of *Henry de la Tour d' Auvergne*, Viscount de *TURENNE*.

HAVING been large in relating the Life of this Duke, I shall be the briefer in the Particulars of the Life of *Henry de la Tour d' Auvergne*, Viscount de *Turenne*, his Brother. Our Author pretends not to write his Life, but by reason of his Acquaintance and Negotiations with him, to give you some Particulars, which might otherwise have escaped his Historians: He was of a moderate Stature, and neither fat nor lean;

his Gate and Behaviour seemed to declare him audacious and bold, rather than modest and fearful: his Hair was of a Chestnut-Colour; he had with a smiling Countenance some mixture of Melancholly, which rendered his Physiognomy something extraordinary, and very difficult to paint: He began his Apprenticeship of War in *Holland*, under the Prince of *Orange* his Uncle, whither he was sent at fourteen years of age; he had a Natural Inclination to War, animated by the desire of Glory, which made him apply himself to it with that diligence, that he gained a Reputation equal to the greatest Captains of former Ages: He had very much Wit, but less of Brightness and Clearness than of Depth and solid Wisdom; he was very tender over his Souldiers, and far from casting the blame of Unfortunate Incounters upon the Officers that Commanded; he on the contrary, used always to comfort them, and raise their Courage when they had met with any ill Fortune.

He was incapable of Hatred, but not of Love: He was seen in tears in the streets of *Pontoise*, when he heard at the Gate, That the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Brother, was dangerously sick there, on the Sickness whereof he dyed; and his Tears were the more touching and natural, in that he endeavoured to restrain them.

His Modesty was so great, that speaking of his Brother, the Duke of *Bouillon*, he said, *It is thought I know something of War, but there is nothing more certain, than that I may learn much more of my Brother; and as for Business, he is infinitely before me*: His natural Goodness was so great, that he could never be hardened by all the Blood he saw shed, nor hindered from endeavouring the Advancement of every one, maugre all the Ingratitude he met with.

For some years Fortune was his Foe in the Wars; yet in all his Unfortunate and Unsuccessful Attempts, Fame hath always done Justice to his Courage and Capacity; and he often acquired greater Glory, than those that have had the Advantage over him.

During the Regency in the year 1649. *Paris* took Arms to drive away the Cardinal *Mazarine*. The Vicount de *Turenne*, lead by the fatal Constellation that reigned then, or by his own particular Resentments against the Cardinal, took up a Resolution contrary to the Interest of the Cardinal: But it was what he did not look upon as contrary to the Interest of the Publick. He commanded the Army of *Germany*, composed of 12 or 15000 men, who were generally Strangers; he was in so great a Veneration by reason of his great Merit & manner of living with the Souldiers, (most of the Principal Officers being also advanced, & particularly obliged by him) that they engaged all the rest to take an Oath, to obey none but himself: This Engagement was proclaimed by the Sound of Drum & Trumpet, & the Acclamations of the Souldiers. He marched then towards *France*; but the third day after, having advanced as far as *Spire*, to finish the Bridge there, which the Army was to pass, *Longpré* Lieutenant Collonel of the Regiment of Infantry of *Faubecourt*, came to Advise him in great haste, That *Thouvenin* and *Chuff*, two general Officers of the Forreigners, (who yet owed their Advancement to the Vicount de *Turenne*, and in whom he placed an especial Trust and Confidence) had been all night conferring with *Hervard*, who was sent by the Cardinal, and brought Orders from the Queen, and Letters from the Prince of *Conde*, for the Officers of the Army; so that being gained by great

Hopes

Hopes and Sums of Money, they prevailed with the Army to change their Opinion, and to march another way.

These Troops which had so lately shewn so much Zeal and Affection to the Vicount de *Turenne*, had infallibly made him Prisoner, if he had not saved himself immediately: And this was the first time that he observed how little safety there is for mens Lives and Fortunes, when they depend upon an usurped Power.

The Campaign following, the Vicount de *Turenne* appeared at the Head of the *Spanish* Army, for the deliverance of the Princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and fought the Battle of *Rebel*; he lost it, and when it was come to that pass, that he had no more to do, but to save his Person: He fled on a wounded Horse, followed only by *La Barge*, Lieutenant of his Guards on a wounded Horse also. After they had marched a while, they saw five Troopers come after them full speed; *la Barge*, said to the Viscount, *I have but one Pistol to discharge, and you have discharged both yours*; Monsieur, *What will you do?* *Dye* (said he) *la Barge, rather than return into France, to be made a publick Scorn*. Then being overtaken by two of the Troopers who marched before the rest, *la Barge* went to one and killed him with his Pistol, the other took the Viscount by his Belt, and said, *Good Quarter, Mr. de Turenne*; But the Viscount killed him with a stroke of his Sword: Of the three Troopers that remained, one fired a Pistol at the Viscount, but missed him, and then they all three retired; but the Vicount de *Turenne* had been infallibly lost, his Horse and *la Barge's* being not in a condition to march any farther, had not *La Vaux* an Officer of Horse of the Regiment of *Beauveau* come by at that instant, and given the Vicount his Horse, to save himself.

After this Second Action, which he never remembered without grief and repentance, Posterity will wonder to find him at the Head of one of the King's Armies, and relyed on with an intire Confidence. If there be but few Examples of so great and so speedy a Change, he shewed himself worthy of it afterwards, by his inviolable Fidelity and great Services.

As soon as he had received the necessary Orders for the Command of the Army, he departed from *Blois*, where the Court then was, and went towards *Sully* and *Gien*, to assemble the Troops that were to serve under him. Presently after the King departed from *Blois*, to go to *Orleans*, which having shut their Gates upon him, he resolved to go to *Gien*; and as he was passing carelessly under the Walls of *Gergeau*, a little Town on the River *Loire*, the Baron de *Syrop*, who commanded the Prince's Army, assaulted the Bridge of *Gergeau*, designing to open a way to fall on the Court in their March: He was already Master of the Gate on the other side of the River, and was working at a Lodgment on the middle of the Bridge, whilst they mounted two pieces of Canon to batter the other. The Vicount de *Turenne*, who was advanced to meet the King, hearing the Report of the Muskets, left his way, and threw himself into *Gergeau*: He found there some Infantry, but so ill provided of Ammunition, that they had nothing left to charge with; seeing the importance of the Affair, he made them open the Gates, and let down the Draw-bridge; and that the Enemy might hear, he commanded aloud to the Infantry, who lined the

Certain, that upon pain of death, none should discharge without Order: Afterwards putting himself at the Head of those near him, he marched towards the Enemy with his Sword in his hand, and drove them from the Lodgment they had made on the Bridge, and maugre all their Attempts, and the force of their Cannon, (which killed eight or ten men near him) he drove them beyond the River, and broke two of the Arches of the Bridge, that he might put the Court out of danger.

The King arrived at *Gien*, and the Viscount posted himself at *Briare*, and went to visit the Marshal *de Hoquincourt*, who was near *Bleneau*, with a considerable Body of Troops, which were coming to joyn him: The Viscount having viewed his Camp, said, He was much exposed, and advised him to Retire to *Briare*, but he replied there was no fear, and that a good Guard would be sufficient: But the Viscount was no sooner Retired to *Briare*, but the Marshal was attacked and defeated; the Viscount was Marching to his Relief, but before he was Marched a League, he heard of his defeat. The Officers were for Marching towards the Kings Person, and not meeting the enemy with so great an inequality, but the Marshal gave orders to march forwards: *La Barge* came and informed him that all the Souldiers murmured, and said, He would lose all if he returned not to the King; the Viscount replied, This is a fine shift, after the example which *Orleans* has given, where will they open the gates, if we present our selves before them vanquished and flying? we must either perish or save all. The day before, as he returned from the Marshal *de Hoquincourt's* Quarters to *Briare*, he had observed a Moras which made a long dese, he judged the Enemy would be obliged to pass that way; he marched then immediately, and arrived so opportunely, that he was on one side of the Moras, when the Enemies Troops began to appear on the other; he had not then with him above *Three Thousand five Hundred* men, yet stopt therewith a Victorious Army Composed of *Thirteen or Fourteen Thousand*, and Commanded by the Prince of *Condé*.

They were very much alarm'd at Court by the defeat of Marshal *de Hoquincourt*; but were mightily terrified, when they heard of the Viscounts March, not doubting but that the same fortune would attend him also; the Court was preparing to pass over the River, having Pioneers ready to break down the Arches. When they heard of the Viscounts great Success, and were assured, that after he had seen the Enemy return to their Quarters, he came back to post himself at *Briare* with his Army.

The Cardinal shewed a Relation of this action to the Viscount, which he intended to publish to prevent false Reports, which began by the Council the Viscount had given the Marshal the day before to retire to *Briare*. The Viscount caused that part to be struck out, saying, The Marshal was unfortunate enough, without adding so disagreeable a circumstance.

He was accustomed to few words, and loved not long discourses; his profound Musings made him ask sometimes questions to little purpose, and speak things very improper and incoherent. He was sometimes prepossessed with aversions which he could not overcome; for example, how brave soever a man was, yet he could not endure him in the Field, if he made any extraordinary provisions against the weather: Those whom he despised,

sed, he could scarcely speak to them with any sort of decency. He was offended that men represented him as being always distrustful, and often prepossessed.

He always loved them of his own house, but at the beginning he loved his house less than his fortune; and afterwards he preferred his Glory both to his fortune and his house.

Upon all occasions he relieved his Kindred above his ability, and dispoiled himself of part of his heritage, in favour of some of them; being more touched with their necessities than his own wants.

He never boasted of his Liberality; and what he bestowed was with a singular modesty, very rare, and yet necessary to purge Liberality from that pride and vanity which frequently accompanies it: Those virtues which seldom belong to Old men, were so natural in him, that in his last years he bestowed his bounties freelyer than ever; insomuch that under a Liberal and Magnificent Prince, and in an Age so fertile in great fortunes: He dyed possessed of a less Estate than he received from his Ancestors.

Discouring of Riches, he said, That if he had great Summs at the end of the year, he thought it would do him harm; and it was like having a great many dishes brought in when men were rising from the Table.

All the care he took of his Person, was only to avoid slovenlyness, neither was he more curious in his attendance; for both at the Court and in the Camp, you might often come into his Chamber, without meeting with any Servant.

He commonly spoke with a high clear and strong voice; but when he delivered a secret, tho' it was but of small consequence, he never thought he spoke low enough; and the opinion of his suspicion was so well founded, that he seldom had his own mind eased by any confidence which he put in others.

In affairs of Consequence, whether easie or difficult, he always attended with vigilance; never presuming nor despairing of success; always prompter to take unnecessary precautions than to forget those which were necessary: All his designs were managed with great prudence and foresight, but when he was constrained to leave matters to fortune, he did it with all the Boldness and Gayety of a young man.

Those who served under him scarce ever knew his designs, till he was ready to put them in execution; he was the ablest General in the world to ruine an enemies Army with Forces inferior to theirs; and to end a Campaign Successfully, the event whereof was looked upon to be very dangerous and doubtful.

At the beginning of a Battle you could observe nothing extraordinary in him; but as the Action began to grow hotter and more difficult, he was observed to raise himself, and provide for every thing, with a freedom of Mind and a firmness of Courage; which few men are capable of in dangers of a long continuance.

After he had won the Battle of the *Downes*, and taken *Dunkirk*, Cardinal *Mazarine* desired earnestly to have the glory of these two great successes attributed to himself; he desired that the Viscount *de Turenne* would

would write a Letter to him, wherein he should own that they were due only to himself; and that he had layd the project in his Clofet, and that they had only executed his orders: The Cardinal was very fond of this matter, and committed the management of it to the Count de Moret, a Gentleman of good parts, and his Favourite, and an intimate friend of the Viscount de Turenne. The Court was then at *Calais*, and the Viscount about *Dunkirk*; the Count waited upon him two or three times under other pretences, but indeed only upon this business; the Count did all he could to divert the Cardinal from these thoughts, so little agreeable to his Station and Profession; and forgot nothing which he thought might persuade the Viscount de Turenne to set a price upon the favour which he desired of him; but in the end he found himself obliged to declare plainly to the Viscount, that he had reason to fear that an absolute denial, would have consequences very prejudicial to his fortunes; since at the very first difficulty, the Cardinal had shown a great animosity against him.

The Viscount de Turenne, who had not been moved by hope, was not so by fear, he answered still after the same manner; That the Cardinal might insert in History what-ever might flatter most his ambition, and make posterity believe that he was a great Captain: But as for himself, he would never be reproached, as the Author of a thing so contrary to his Honour, and the Truth.

He was much delighted with men of Learning and good sense, but had no regard for those who were Wits by profession; they were never comprized in his Liberalities, and he had no great share in their works.

He could not endure for a moment, bare-faced flattery, but when it was concealed under the appearance of true friendship, and natural and proper occasions of praising him were chosen; he was then easily drawn in by it, and a flatterer might then insinuate himself into his mind, and establish himself in his confidence, and make his advantage of it: He was of the Reformed Religion by birth, and made profession of it above fifty years; then he began to be dubious, and principally by the means of Cardinal de Bouillon, his Nephew he was reconciled to the Romish Church, and made his abjuration before the Arch-Bishop of Paris. He continued ever after in the Romish persuasion, and by his will gave gratuities to those that should follow his example: To the Poor of *Sedan* which should be converted to, and embrace the Roman Religion, he gave the Summ of Fifty Thousand Livres; and to the Poor which should be Converted at *Negrepelice*, Twenty Thousand Livres, and the like Sum at *Castillon*.

The love and veneration of the Souldiers towards him always encreased, especially in the last Campaigns, and was principally visible amongst other occasions the year before his death, when he made that extraordinary March in the middle of Winter, to go and attack his enemies at the passage of the River *Ill* in *Germany*.

All the Campaigns since the War in *Holland*, contain Prodiges of his Valour and Capacity, which will furnish matter for many volumes, if one would enter into particulars; but after having escaped infinite dangers during the space of Fifty years that he bore Arms, his Army and that of the enemies,

enemies, being in fight of each other at *Salsback* in *Germany*, he was taken off by a Cannon-shot, discharged almost at random in a place where a Battery was raising: He received the shot in the middle of his body, at the instant that he stopt his Horse to speak to *Saint Hilary* Lieutenant of the Artillery.

Saint Hilary had his arm taken off with the same shot, and uttered a saying worth remembering, to two of his Sons who wept to see him in that condition: *Ab my Children! it is not for me that you ought to weep, it is for this great man (showing them the Viscount de Turenne) and for the irreparable loss France has sustained thereby.*

Perhaps an example never was seen of so great and general an affliction, and I believe that of the Romans after the death of *Marcellus*, *Germanicus*, and *Titus*; can not be compared to that of *France* upon this occasion. It is impossible to express the sorrow of the Souldiers.

Those who Commanded the Army, made a halt for to hold a Council Concerning the Post they were to take, the Souldiers being vexed to see how long they were about resolving, began to say openly and aloud, *See how they are perplexed, they need but loosen Pye* (that was the name of a horse well known by all the Army whereon the Viscount de Turenne used commonly to ride) *where the poor horse stops that's the place where we should Incamp.*

The Nobles and people even in distant Provinces where he had never been seen, were for some dayes unable to discourse of any thing else but their great Loss: Many Lamented him that had never seen him, some excited by the memory of his past Actions; others by the consideration of those he might have rendred, and all generally sensible of the great misfortune, whereby he lost his Life.

At *Paris* and in the neighbouring Provinces, and particularly in the Frontiers of those Countries which were the seat of War; their Regret was the greater and more tender because he was the better known, and they were accustomed to see him come back every Winter laden with new Glory; in fine, his loss seemed like the defeat of a whole Army, wherein every one had lost his substance, or his best friend.

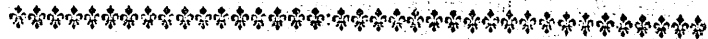
He began to make a figure in the Reign of *Lewis* the 13th. and sustained by his Merit and Quality, he passed over the Ministry of Cardinal *Reichelien* without any notable favour or disgrace.

Under the Ministry of Cardinal *Mazarine* he underwent divers changes of fortune, but he had always reason to praise her during the last Twenty years of his life. He esteemed himself the more happy in serving under a King, in whom he found all the qualities desirable in a Master, and who treated him with so much Confidence and Esteem, that he had reason to love him as a friend.

It is not known certainly upon what design he made so long and difficult a march to possess himself of the post where he was slain; it is only known, that some few hours before his death, he promised himself great advantages from this last Battle of his life; and he was so far from presumption, that when he began to hope well of his enterprises, his hopes might be taken for an entire certainty of a happy success; infomuch, that

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if they who were at the head of the Army, after his death have merited Praise and Reward; the Viscount de Turrene being no less their Superiour by his great abilities in War, than by his quality of General, there is reason to believe that the success of a design which he had so long Contrived, would have been much Greater and more Glorious.



Extracts of Divers LETTERS:

Translated out of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans.*

THE Works of St. Hilary Bishop of Poitiers, of the Fathers of St. Germain des Pres, begin to be sold here (at Paris) by Muguet. The *Origines* of the French Tongue, by Mr. Menage, and by Mr. Caseneuve, (in Folio) will be published in a few days. There have appeared almost at the same time, Two Histories of Cardinal Ximenes: The one by the Abbot of Marsoir, printed at Tholouse, in 8vo. & the other by the Bishop of Nimes, (sold by Anisson) in 4to. (the last is reprinted at Amsterdam by Henry Desbordes.) There have been many Books lately printed by Anisson, of some whereof, these are the Titles; *Libri Salomonis, Proverbia Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, cum notis Jac. Ben. Bossuet Episcopi Meldensis, acceperunt ejusdem supplenda in Psalmos. Parisiis.* The others are upon different Subjects, as, *Veterum Mathematicorum, Athenaei, Apollodori, Philonis, Dionis, Heronis, & aliorum Opera Graecæ & Latina, praeque nunc primum edita, ex manuscriptis codicibus Bibliothecae Regiae, uno Vol. in folio.* And this also, *Recueil d'Observations faites en plusieurs Voyages par Ordre de sa M. pour perfectionner l'Astronomie & la Geographie, avec divers Traitez Astronomiques, par Mrs. de l'Academie R. des Sciences, 1 Vol. in Fol.* This comes from the King's Printing-House, as this also, *Divers Ouvrages de Mathematique & de Physique, par Mrs. de l'Academie R. des Sciences, 1 Vol. in Fol.* There is another Volume in Folio, *Description des Plantes de l'Amerique, avec leurs Figures naturelles; by the R. F. Charles Plumier Rel. Minime.* The three vacant places in the Fr. Academie, by the Death of the Comte de Bussi Rabutin, of the Abbot de la Chambre, and of the Abbot Tallement, have been filled by Mr. the Abbot Signon, Mr. de la Loubere, and Mr. de la Bruyere; the last hath gained much Reputation by his Book, *Des Caracteres des mœurs de ce siecle.* He is engaged in a great Quarrel with Mr. Devizé, for having said in his Book, *That the Mercury Galant is nothing worth;* Mr. Devizé hath Answered him vigorously.

There hath appeared here in Germany, a Book in 8vo. *Fani Nicii Eritbraei Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium doctrinae & ingenii laude vivorum qui autore superstitie diem obierunt:* It contains above 150 Italian Authors. Mr. d' Hinzelman, who prepares an Edition of the *Alcoran*, is going to publish some Works of Ptolemy, which have not yet seen the Light: He hath lately Confuted the Errors of a Shoemaker of Gorliz, named Boemius; who pretended that all things were made and created of the Essence of God, which bears this Title, *De deo Fundamenti Boemiani.* Mr. Thomasius Professor at Hall, hath a design to write an Ecclesiastical History, an Essay whereof hath

hath already appeared, Entituled, *Historia Sapientiae & Stultitiae.* There is printed at Leipzig, Jac. Dan. Ernesti V. D. M. *Apantibismata, sive selectiores flores Philologico-Historico-Theologico-Morales, in 4 Libros divisi* 1693. in 8vo. The Work of Mr. Imhof. *Notitia S. Rom. Germanici Imperii Procerum* hath been reprinted the third time, Tubingæ in Folio. Mr. Ludolf who published in 1681. a History of Ethiopia, and in 1691. a Commentary upon the same History, hath published *Appendix ad Historiam Ethiopicam, illiusque Commentarium, ex nova relatione de hodierno Habitu saevi concinnata, Francofurti apud Zunnerum, 1693. in Fol.* His Preface begins with the Praises of the Dutch East-India-Company, from whom he acknowledgeth to have received great help in clearing the History of Abyssinia. Mr. Carpzovius hath taken care of the Posthumous Works of the late Mr. Rappolus; and they appeared under this Title, *Frederici Rappolti Doctoris & Professoris Theologiae in Academia Lipsiensi Opera Theologica, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, in 2 Tomos distributa; Lipsia 1693. in 4to.* A Clergy-man amongst the Lutherans, called Mr. Francolius, hath published one in 4to. Entituled, *De Originibus Linguae Sorabicae, seu Slavicae, 1693.*

Mr. de Chaumont, the Antient Bishop of Aqs, hath published two Volumes in 12. *Reflexions sur le Christianisme enseigné dans l'Eglise Rom. 1693.* His Design in general, is to prove by Motives of Credibility, That there is One GOD against the Atheists, and Christianity against the Deists, and every thing that hath assumed the Name of Religion: And finally, the Obligation according to his Principles, to learn Christianity only in the Church of Rome: As to his Arguments for the Existence of a God, though he be of Opinion, That there are but few Atheists in good earnest; he is of Opinion, That a Matter of this Nature is to be treated upon with all the freedom and extent imaginable; and he reserves it for a Treatise made on purpose, contenting himself in this; to lay down only the general Principles, which serve for a Foundation to the rest of his System: For the Confutation of False Religions, instead of shewing all the ridiculous Popperies contained in them, he only opposeth this Enquiry, Whether they have any certain Character of having been taught by GOD. Afterward he shews, that the Law of Nature and that of Moses have this Character, That they have been taught by GOD. He adds curious Proofs drawn from the knowledge of the places where the most famous Miracles of Moses have been wrought, and a lively Portraiture of the Misfortunes of the Jews, since their attempt upon the Person of the Messiah. After that, coming to Christianity in particular, he shews the Truth thereof by Miracles, which bear the Character of the Finger of God. From whence he draweth this Consequence, that we are not obliged to prove the Articles of Faith by Reason, since it is sufficient that God hath spoken them. He saith nevertheless, that the Church is not reduced to that Answer only; and that if Faith be above Reason, it doth not destroy it. Therefore he makes a digression upon the Trinity and Incarnation, and concludes, That if Reason furnisheth such excellent reflections, in regard of the most difficult Articles of Faith, every unprejudiced person will have reason to say, That it is incomparably more easie to receive satisfaction upon the other Articles which carry their own

proof along with them. In his fifth Book he selects the contradictions and impossibilities upon which the Deists rely. We find therein new Systems, or the old ones carried on further than they were before. In particular concerning the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, there are two different Charts which contain different Reconciliations.

The second Edition of the *Menagiana* is about to appear, and it is said that it will be quite another thing than the former. We shall see quickly the *Animenagiana* of Mr. Bernier. It is said, that Mr. Perault is making the Elogy of Mr. Pelisson. The F. Plumier hath finished his 2d. volume of Plants, and will give us afterwards a Treatise of Shells. A Physician of Rochelle named Mr. Venet, who is the Author of *Tableau de la Amour considéré dans l'état du mariage*, is about to give us a dissertation of *Tritons* and *Syrenes*. I am assured, that all the Copies of the History of the King by Medals, by E. Menétrier, have been seized, who is about to publish specially a History of the City of Lyon. Mr. de Tournefort hath printed his *Elémens de Botanique*, or an Easy Method to know Plants by certain Principles. Mr. de Cordemoi promisseth in a little time the third Volume of his History of France. The Fr. Neptune will be a magnificent Collection of the Maps of the greatest part of the World. The Benedictin Fathers have published S. Eusebii Hieronimi Stridonensis Presbyteri Divina Bibliotheca antebacædænia, completens ejusdem Translationes Latinas V. & N. Testamenti cum ex Hebreis tum e Græcis Fontibus derivatas; innumera quoque Scholia Marginalia antiquissimi anonymi Scriptoris Hebraeos Voces pressius exprimentes; prodit nunc e vetustissimis Manuscriptis Codicibus Gallicanis, Patricanis, &c. Studio ac labore D. Johannis Martianay, & D. Ant. Pouget. Mon. Ord. S. Ben. & Cong. S. Maur. I have not yet seen the Book of Mr. Baluze, *Vita Paparum Avinionensium*; that is to say, The History of the Popes who have held their See in France, from the year 1305, to the year 1395. Writ by Contemporary Authors, some whereof have not yet appeared, and others have been reviewed by the most Correct Manuscripts. Mr. Baluze hath added Notes which serve very much to illustrate the History of those Times. This is the First Tome; the Second will contain the Ancient Acts of those Times which have not yet seen the Light: As the Letters of the Popes, of the Kings of France, the Voyage of Urbain the Fifth into Italy, &c.

I could not yet meet with *Moses vindicatus*, it is said it will be suppressed, because it hath very ill defended *Moses*, and instead of solving the doubts, it increaseth them.

There are Printed here (London) some posthumous works of Mr. Boyle, as *General heads for the natural History*, London; for John Taylor 1692. 12. These are general remarks upon the natural History of Turkey, Egypt, Guinea, Swat, Persia, &c. for the use of Travellers. He observeth every thing that is of consequence in regard to the temperature of the Air, and the nature of the Soil, for Minerals, Animals, &c. There hath been also published his *General History of the Air*, London, for Awnsham and J. Churchill, 1692. in 4to.

There have been printed some pieces of venerable Bede, under this Title. *Beda venerabilis opera quædam Theologica nunc primum edita, nec non Historica antea semel edita. Accesserunt Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Dialogus*.

logus de Ecclesiastica institutione, & Aldhelmi Episcopi Scireburnensis liber de virginitate, ex codice antiquissimo emendatus, Londini; apud Rob. Clavel, 1693. in 4to.

There is sold also one in Folio which bares this Title, *Leonardi Plukensij Phytographia pars 3*. Londini, 1692. It is a Treatise of Plants. The two first parts appeared in 1691. I have seen a Third Letter concerning Toleration by the same Author who hath given the two former. A Third Letter for Toleration, to the Author of the Third Letter concerning Toleration. London 1692. in 4to.

They declare here (at Paris) daily new Hereticks; not to speak of Mr. du Pin, who hath received his sentence: Mr. Baillet is at present upon the stage; for his Book, *De la devotion à la S. Vierge, et du culte qui lui est dû*. There hath already appeared two Censures against him: The one is, *Une lettre à Mr. Hideux D. en Theologie. Curé des S. S. Innocens, sur l'approbation qu'il a donnée au nouveau livre de la devotion à la S. Vierge*. The other is, *Memoire adressé à la Sorbonne, touchant le livre. Entitulé, Devotion à la S. V. The Mrs. de Port Royal, are attacked also from another side, to wit, by an Accusation under this Title, Le Nestorianisme renaissant dénoncé à la Sorbonne*. It is said, that this Book is elegantly writ, and that at the same time that it most presseth its adversaries, it discovers a moderation not very frequent with devotos. It is writ against the translation of the Homilies of S. Chrysostom, upon the Epistles of St Paul: He accuseth the Translators of Six Nestorian or Socinian Propositions. The First is, St. Paul confounds the Jews, by shewing them, That there are two Persons in Jesus Christ; God and Man. By the Fourth, they are accused to have called their Doctrine Heresie, who attribute to the Son, that which is proper to the Father. That which gives the most weight to the accusation against the Mrs. de Port Royal, is, First, That these Six Propositions are not found in the Text of St. Chrysostom: The Second is, That these Translators are accused to have altered in many places the Catholick Truths that are opposite to these Errors. As for Example; They are accused to have suppressed these words of the Father, upon the Second Chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians; *Seeing it is so, let us not confound; let us not divide. There is in him but one God; one Christ, one Son of God; and when I say one, I mean it of Union, and not of confusion or mixture; there is in him a Union, and not a change of nature*. They have produced Seven or Eight Examples, and offered to produce more. We expect with impatience to see how these Mrs. will clear themselves of so home a charge, and what the Sorbonne to whom it is addressed, will decree in an affair of this importance.

I have little news of Learning to acquaint you with from these parts (Geneva) There are printed at Lausanne, Three Latin Dissertations of Mr. Constant: The one concerning Lol's wife, the other concerning the Burning Bush; and the Third concerning the Brazen Serpent. The title of a Book that comes from Italy, is, *Bibliotheca Romana, seu Romanorum Scriptorum centuria*, autore Prospero Mandosio, nobili Romano. Vol. 2. Romæ 1692. in 4to. He who makes the Journal of Parma, is called Pietro Manzani: He writes it in Latin. The Italian Journal of Modena is composed by

by *Ten Persons*, who have associated themselves together for that purpose. It is said that *Philippo Bonanni* is composing an uninterrupted Collection of Medals of the Popes. The *F. Molinet* in his History of Popes from *Martin the Fifth*, to *Innocent the Eleventh*, published at *Paris* in 1679, hath already produced some.

You have seen by the Preface which *Mr. Boileau* hath put before the *Ode* which he hath made in imitation of *Pindar*, that he is angry in good earnest against *Mr. Perrault*, who dares compare the moderns to the antients. This hath kindled a kind of civil war upon *Parnassus*. *Mr. de Fontenelles* also is engaged in it, who furnisheth both reasons and an example against the antients.

The Parallel between *Mr. Corneille* and *Mr. de Racine* is attributed to him, where the latter is placed much beneath the former. See for example two characters both of the one and the other, which are observed there. 1. When a mans mind is Noble he would imitate the Heroes of *Corneille*; and when a mans mind is little, he is well pleased that the Heroes of *Racine* are like himself. 2. We receive from the one a desire of being virtuous, and from the other the pleasure of finding the like in our own weakness.

You may easily see the History of Cardinal *Ximenez* by *Mr. Fleckier*. But the same History by *Mr. Marsotier* perhaps cannot be procured so easily, being Printed in our parts (*Toulouse*), which are a great way distant from you. For this reason I will give you an *Idea* of it. Although it be not easie to perform according to the dignity of the subject, the Author doth in no wise fail of it. The Language thereof is pure, the Story lively and natural; the Reflections fine, and the Intrigues very coherent and clear. The excellent qualities and great successes of Cardinal *Ximenez* are exprest to the life; but without concealing his faults, and making of *Panegyricks*. If ever his Canonization be attempted as the Order of *St. Francis* whereof he was, have often flattered themselves. This History will not contribute much towards it, yet I do not represent this work to you as perfect, it hath its defects. 1. The Author ties himself up too much to a publick capacity, and doth not mention enough private and domestick actions. It contains only the History of a States-man. 2. Although the War with the *Moors* be a digression that is very entertaining, yet the relation thereof is too long, and the Cardinal *Ximenez* was not concerned enough in it to cause him to insist so much upon it: According to the precept, *Ambitiosa sunt rescindenda ornamenta*. This is an Essay or Trial of this Author: We may expect more of these kind of writings from him. I believe him to be the Author of a Book, *De l'origine des dimes, & des Benefices*, which appeared in 1688. wherein he useth a great deal of liberty in speaking of the Court of *Rome*, and the Ecclesiasticks. This makes me have a good opinion of the History of the Inquisition which its said he is composing.